food, seed, and chicken feed were met, 58 per cent of the crop remained to be sold off for cash (Janlekha 1955:53). Almost every inhabitant was engaged in commercial rice farming. A few teachers, craftsmen, and traders, alone did not farm. Plantings of early and late varieties in different plots spread the toil. Cooperative work or some local hired help assured adequate labor forces at the needed moment. Nevertheless, two heavy work seasons dominated the rice cycle. The first of these, June through August, involved soil preparation and transplanting of the seedlings in long straight rows. In the second season, November into February, the rice was harvested, brought home for threshing and winnowing, then sold or stored. The straw was stacked as buffalo feed. People were anxious during the preparatory and planting season, for rains were fickle and the planning and timing had to be exact. Work was hard and almost grim. Harvest, though perhaps more of a physical strain because people cut the stalks by day, then threshed and winnowed far into the night, was gay and so less taxing emotionally, for the crop had safely passed through the threats of flood, drought, and pest, and "cash was in sight." Haste was necessary because each plot of rice had to be harvested within three or four days of its maturity, and because at that season the canals were drying up rapidly, raising the possibility not only that human backs and not boats would move the crop, but that the buyers themselves could not get their boats in to take the main portion to the urban markets. Then a farmer might have to wait until the canals filled again in June to sell his rice and get his money. Since during the busy seasons everyone from age 16 on up was taken up with farming, the cooking, child care, and other chores were carried on by the aged and the very young. These work days taxed to the limit the strength of all men, women, and even young people. Ten to 18 hours might be spent stooping to transplant or weed, or, at harvest, to cut the rice stalk close to the ground. There was a great deal of heavy lifting of seedling bundles or sheaves. The few professional masseurs in the area said they were kept on the run because of back complaints especially during the periods of heavy labor.

In the periods between these two seasons, tools were repaired, houses rebuilt, and ceremonies organized. Extra cash was earned in various ways. People kept very busy, though they did allow themselves more sleep.

The importance of women's role in agriculture is indicated by their virtual equation with men. In every step of rice-production women worked alongside men, plowing with the buffalo, planting, weeding, harvesting, repairing the dikes, hauling, etc. Only uprooting the seedlings was exclusively men's work (even this was done by women elsewhere in Thailand [Kingshill 1960:7]).

Besides the work in rice-fields, women dug and cleaned

close touch with each other's activities and needs.

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time.

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable.

594 What differences in circumstances existed that might affect nutritional level? On the one hand were relatively isolated nuclear families, which we estimated as 15-20% of the
434 families, living in tiny separate cottages.[1] Usually with in-
444 adequate or no land, they earned an irregular income by hiring
423 themselves out for farm or other work. At the other extreme,
596 in a hamlet-like cluster of dwellings, lived a closely affili-
532 ated group of kin. A senior couple more or less headed the
476 married sisters, brothers, or children, maybe with a hired man, or family that as autonomous households cooperated amicably in economic and domestic tasks. We estimated these as 20-25% of the Bang Chan families. The larger social unit, having more hands to produce, and to share tasks, was better able to provide good food and general health care to its members, than a small isolated family. Four problems more easily handled by the larger group were household chores and child-care, farming, borrowing, and earning money.

855 Young children had to be constantly tended lest they fall into the water, the fire, or under the buffalo's feet. They never entered the fields during work. Fishing and gathering of water plants was complicated because in boats, small children had to be held. Where there were but two parents and young children, one parent could not do many things until the other came home. Perhaps neither partner could stay away long enough to get a big batch of fish or greens from the canal, or
[252] go to the store. Cooking was simplified, or food might be prepared once a day only. Respite came only when the first born was able to help oversee a younger child, sometimes stay-
596 ing home from school to do so. Where the adult cooperative
476 group was larger, movement was freer. All the strong adults could work in the fields or at a job, confident that the home was well tended. They came home to a well-prepared meal, ready when they wanted it. Such households had more fresh fish because farm work could be completed sooner, hence more persons
[971] could devote themselves to fishing. Some physically able members could even be spared and financed to go beyond the required four grades of elementary school.

241 Plowing could be done by a man and wife, but for both
462 transplanting and harvesting which had to be done within a few
476 days, large groups were necessary. Two patterns of auxiliary
464 group labor prevailed: reciprocal cooperative work, and hiring of labor.

113
114 1. Janlekha, 1955, categorized families as 5% "one-
162 person," 59% nuclear, 8% limited extended (including one or
594 more parents of a spouse), 27% extended (including dependent
596 married couples or other collateral relatives), and the temple
423 residents. At least 32% of the families had inadequate or no land. His figures do not indicate the degree of domestic cooperation which was an ameliorating factor in well-being.

Table 5. Diet Classifications for 75 School Children in Bang Chan, and Percentage of Children with Each Diet Classification who Missed Lunch

(Adapted from Thorangkul, 1957)

Diet classification[1]	Percentage of children	Percentage of children who missed lunch	
Class I	8	Boys	46
		Girls	45
Class II	61	Boys	73
		Girls	68
Class III	31	Boys	81
		Girls	98

1. See text for basis of classification.

vegetables eaten, since items from these two food groups were not commonly eaten as snacks. Note, in the illustrative records presented in translation (Appendix A, p. 98), that the child whose diet was considered to be in Class III did not eat a regular lunch on any of the six days for which records were available, whereas the child whose diet was classified as I ate a regular lunch six times out of seven.

Family Food Shared With Others

Throughout the year families prepared especially good meals for persons who came to work cooperatively with them. Every rice-grower entertained his cooperative harvest crew, some the transplanters. Hired laborers were not usually served such feasts, but the conviviality of the harvest season called for a round of liquor even for them. One harvest dinner for 48 cost 50 baht, plus eels (60 baht) and rice. Cooperative home pounding of rice was still practiced in some households and thought to be fun. In one day enough rice to produce 40 tang (640 kg.) was pounded by groups of 15 to 20 workers; in an evening 20 tang were done. If 40 tang were milled, workers were served a full meal; if 20 tang, a dessert only. Other occasions were fish-pond draining, house raising and repair. Each participant in the fish-pond draining at Household 21 was fed (3)khaaw (3)tom (soupy rice) for lunch and "an enormous supper," in addition to receiving the traditional pot of fish. If good food were not served at these functions people

264 would not come willingly to work. When a family with a repu-
476 tation for stinginess diluted the (3)khaaw (3)tom too much,
574 the group refused to eat any, thereby reminding the host of his obligation for hospitality.

574 Guests to whom meals were served fell into four categories: 1) kin, 2) visiting dignitaries, 3) priests and 4) drinking companions. Kinfolk who came as guests were married children, or those who were away at school or work, or kinsmen from Bangkok or elsewhere. The older the relative or the greater the distance travelled, the greater the honor accorded him. Foods were exchanged. Two visiting ladies travelling in a large boat, made an annual round of all their relatives, bringing certain "city" foods and receiving substantial gifts of rice, fish and fruit. They stayed for several days as guests of one family, then moved on. Every person from Bang
143 Chan who visited a relative in Bangkok carried big packages of food, usually rice or eggs, as gifts. With the inflated prices in Bangkok, it was advantageous to have a "country cousin" who might bring food. Visiting kinsmen always recognized the need for eventual reciprocity.

Visiting dignitaries were usually entertained by hamlet headmen. Meals served to visiting officials, policemen and others might be elaborate, involving cooperative help in preparation, but reciprocity, if any, rarely took the form of a return meal.

192 Regular visits of the priests, as well as the invitation of priests to the house for special events, have been mentioned. Priests might also come from afar, usually staying at the temple but receiving generous offerings of food from people of the community.

562 The custom of convivial get-togethers of either or both sexes was well established. Men traditionally enjoyed "stag" dinners of four up to twenty or more whenever the ingredients for a turtle, frog, cobra or other snake curry were available. Chicken curry might also be thus served, and once a catfish mash was prepared by a male visitor from the north. These curries were cooked by men, and the host served liquor freely.
184 The all-male character of the occasion reflected the old re-
188 strictions on women's partaking of flesh foods (see p. 42),
213 but older women did not hesitate to join in the drinking.
524 Women also got together in drinking parties, sometimes to play cards.

In addition to sharing food with people in these four categories, the general rules of hospitality required that anyone who came to the house at meal time, should be offered food, or at least a drink of liquor, tea, or plain water.

796 The actual ritual of these ceremonies did not take a great deal of time although it was important. Most of the [476] time and effort went into preparing and serving food. Even a small celebration involved cooperative effort among relatives [782] and friends. For every event, the Buddhist altar in the home was decorated and offerings were made to the house-spirit. A 764 big cremation might require planning in detail for years ahead: 796 invitations to priests and relatives in distant parts of the 574 country; hiring an orchestra and obtaining ceremonial gear. 533 For the largest events, when the guest lists ranged upward to [926] 60 or so priests and 400 other guests, one borrowed the hundreds of trays, dishes and bowls owned by the temple. No rental fee was charged for these, but such items had to be returned the next day, clean, and damaged articles replaced or paid for. As the day or days drew near, boat-loads of fresh provender were bought at big markets, and organized cooperative cooking went on under the direction of a competent person, [258] usually one of the "professional" cooks of the village. The [476] day before one ordination, 33 women were seen preparing vegetables, fish and soup; 13 others were making 7 kinds of desserts; about 50 others of both sexes were at different tasks, the men in particular cooking Chinese noodles, grating coconut, stirring, stoking fires. The picture was one of rows of stoves, pots so large they were stirred with a boat paddle, buckets of sugar, eggs by the hundreds, a hired generator to run a mechanical coconut-grater. On this occasion two meals were served. At another splendid (1)ngaan, the priests were fed three meals, other guests up to eight meals, over a period of two and one-half days. Workers had received additional meals beforehand.

[262] The banquet comprised rice and many dishes not met with in daily fare: Chinese noodles; "with-rice" dishes of several kinds, rich in fish, meat and vegetables: for example, fried chicken with internal organs, garlic and pepper; fried pork with mung bean; (2)mii (a fried vermicelli) with fish, vegetables, and a tomato sauce; many different desserts made of eggs, rice flour, glutinous rice, agar, coconut and coconut milk, sugar, sweet potato, dried green beans; flowers served in syrup, fresh fruit such as watermelon; ices and coffee.

128 In Appendix A, p. 102 is a list of foods bought for an 262 annual homage-to-the-teacher rite. It is the nearest approxi- 796 mation to a quantitative record of food for a ceremony that 895 the research group obtained. The prominence of purchased foods, especially of flesh foods, is noteworthy.

264 On the great day, the priests were served first, either 796 at 7 a.m. or 11 a.m., or both, always at least in part by the 792 host, who sat and chatted with them. No one else ate until

In Bang Chan when donations for a new school
264 building warranted buying the foundation materials, so that
476 volunteer labor was solicited for their installation, some of
946 the money went into food, despite additional donations of food. This was in no way misappropriation. Helping to cook was as important as helping to dig the holes.

782 The spirit-offering, or the portions eaten by a partic-
854 ipant as a sacrament, were actually tiny bits of each food. Afterward, the entire lay-out, pork, sweetmeats and all, was eaten. Because all this was holy food, it was felt to be especially strengthening, so was usually given to children, but might be eaten by family members and occasionally, priests.
262 The pork was cut up and eaten with a hot sauce, or put into a
252 "with-rice" dish. It was especially appropriate with liquor.

262 The use of food ritually was not limited to the ceremon-
755 ial season nor to big events. The same purposes underlay the
852 use of a hard-boiled egg eaten in the ceremony that was designed to restore a child "sick from temporary loss of its soul," and in another performed in order to wean a baby.

43 The benefits of a (l)ngaan accrued to every participant
554 down to the last worker and contributor according to the degree
796 of assistance. With status in this and in later lives at stake, no one hesitated to plunge into debt or even to sell land. For the sake of economy two different ceremonies might be performed on the same day, for example a child's topknot cutting at a daughter's wedding.[1] The saving was in time and expense for food preparation, but such multiple ceremonies were performed less often than one might expect.

796 One assistance in the financing was that every invited
476 guest made a contribution, customarily 5 to 10 baht, which
435 helped defray the costs. In 1952, household heads reported these contributions as totalling from 30 to 1.000 baht, with an average of 343 for the year (Janlekha, 1955). Of 96 household heads who provided information on special expenses during the 5-year period March, 1948 through February, 1953, 36 had given (l)ngaan with net expenditures (costs minus contributions) ranging from -10[2] to 15,000 baht. The average net cost was 4,361 baht (Janlekha, 1955). These figures might represent a single (l)ngaan or several events.

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1. Every desired ritual could be carried out at little cost. Thus a priest-candidate whose father was dead, was included in the pre-ordination festivities planned for a friend; and on one occasion five bodies were cremated at the same ceremony, which was sponsored by the kin of one of the deceased.

2. The -10 meant that contributions exceeded the cost.

storekeeper: about 800-900 liter bottles per month during the 3 months dry season as compared to about 350 bottles per month during the 9 months of the rice season.

Moslems never served liquor at their weddings, cremations, and other auspicious events. Moslem residents occasionally attended Buddhist (l)ngaan in spite of dietary proscriptions that Buddhists did not observe.[1] A medium (spiritualist) commented however that because pig's head was essential for her homage-to-the-teacher rites, some Moslem sick persons preferred to go to the Buddhist temple for treatment. There the priest-practitioner could afford to set up a separate kitchen for his Moslem patients, and so spare them the distress of confronting pork. To one big ordination Moslem guests brought their own food. Buddhists came somewhat more often to Moslem ceremonies.

We do not have enough information to appraise the nutritional significance of food eaten at ceremonies. Some individuals got a great deal of it, others very little. One must remember that the (l)ngaan was not a public but a private event at home, to which guests came on invitation. Although cremations and the teacher-rites of priest-practitioners were held at the temple, and so had a semi-public character, no one who was not invited presented himself for food. Of the participants, the working group undoubtedly received the most food; they were there the longest time, had regular meals, tastings and snacks throughout the (l)ngaan meal itself. This group comprised the host, co-sponsors and their immediate kin; other relatives and friends who were asked or who volunteered to help. The feeling was, if one were "very fond" of the host, one volunteered to cook. If less close, one was invited as a guest, but made the usual cash donation. Sociable persons combining skill and energy were invited often and volunteered often, hence spent many days at ceremonies. Young unmarried men and women were asked and liked to be asked to work, for such occasions offered a great chance for fun and flirting.

Different degrees of participation may be estimated from Janlekha's (1955) figures for reported contributions ranging from 30 to 1000 baht in a year. Since a contribution of 5 to 10 baht per (l)ngaan was customary, the villager with the lowest reported contribution probably attended from 3 to 6 ceremonial occasions. Attendance at 100 or more (l)ngaan is unlikely, hence the villager who gave as much as 1000 baht probably made larger contributions per (l)ngaan.

What sort of persons or groups in the village were invited as guests? Every host's list included his older

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1. Moslems were said to resist army service because they were afraid they would have to eat pork.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

a loosely defined, laterally oriented kindred; the nation-state (mentioned not for formal reasons, but because it actually is psychologically important); and to a lesser extent, the village monastery and school. Of these five institutions, the nuclear family is the principal focus of psychological concern, beyond the individual himself. Otherwise, there are in Bang Chan no castes, age-grade societies, occupational groups (other than the family), neighborhood groups, or groups expressive of village solidarity (such as councils or governing boards) which might impose a sense of obligation on the villagers, or to whose norms or functions the villagers might have to conform.[6] Bang Chaners do not have to contribute their labor to their community, serve as village guards, contend with the dictates of village elders, or even actively coöperate with fellow villagers.

All villagers have additional relationships of varying degrees of intimacy both within and without the community, but these are dyadic, not group, relationships based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit. Such contacts are in nature primarily idiosyncratic (friends), transient (reciprocal work groups, gambling and drinking partners), or contractual (as opposed to affective or kin determined: vendors, landlords, debtors, rice millers, employers, and doctors). It is important to recognize that if some of these latter relationships take on positive affective qualities, they may also assume some of the forms and feelings of kinship. Thus, a young man who is taken on as a hired hand by a family frequently ceases to be considered an "employee" and becomes instead an "adopted son." (This type of *gemeinschaft* relationship, contrary perhaps to theoretical expectations, is also characteristic of many occupational situations in Bangkok.) In a similar vein, the terms for older sibling (*phii*), elder uncle (*lung*), and elder aunt (*paa*) are used as terms of address and reference between individuals who are obviously not related to each other, but who wish to mark overtly their fondness and respect for one another. The use of these

[6] There are two minor exceptions to this generalization: (1) a monastery lay committee whose functions are limited to the secular tasks of monastery administration, and membership in which brings prestige and Buddhist merit to a few selected members of the community; and (2) reciprocal work groups organized for and limited to rice transplanting and harvesting, membership in which is completely voluntary and a matter of mutual convenience (Janlekha 1955). Careful accounts are kept as to how much labor is contributed by each participating family, and responsibility for remitting labor received lies with the individual participant, not the group.

It must be noted that the monastery and its cadre of relatively permanent monks, although the very institution that defines the existence of "the village of Bang Chan," is not from the point of view of its clientele primarily a unit representative of village cohesiveness. It is first and foremost *a* Buddhist monastery where one may make merit and only secondarily *the Bang Chan* Monastery. Several members of the community patronize other monasteries, and several Bang Chan monks come from other locales. The keen sense of individual obligation that villagers feel toward their monastery could be directed toward any monastery.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

"extended families." The aim of all Bang Chan families even then was to attain a position in which they would be free from such obligations or would have other families dependent upon them.

In the intervening years the influx of new families into Bang Chan, the increased self-sufficiency of the individual nuclear families and, most important, the increased acceptance of commercial values, have served to break down kindred groups so that today few kinsmen work their fields together and even fewer share their food or equipment with one another, beyond what has been noted above. Perhaps the only remaining *universally* practiced function of the old kindred groups is the celebration of ceremonials involving members of the family, particularly cremations and ordinations, the cost and merit of which are shared among the participants, depending upon their wealth. Very often people do not want to borrow from or lend money or equipment to kinsmen precisely because the intrusion of the kinship tie makes the collection of such debts doubly awkward ("relatives take twice as long in repaying money; I do not want to lend anything to them"). However, the old forms have not been completely obliterated and when necessity requires or personal convenience moves an individual to look to others, the traditions of extended kinship, as indicated earlier, may be invoked.

For purposes of conceptual convenience, two types of kindred may be specified: the kind referred to above which involves kinsmen living in the village and to which Kaufman (1960) gives the name "spatially extended family"; and the type descriptive of relatives living outside Bang Chan, dispersed throughout other villages and provinces or in Bangkok, and called by Kaufman "the remotely extended family" and by L. M. Hanks (1959c) "the multi-local extended family." These terms are of course generic labels descriptive of actual or potential relationships between individuals, not of specifically delimited groups. Sometimes Bang Chaners attempt to extend the definition of the latter type of relationship to individuals who have never heard of them, but who may be in a position to help their son obtain a job in the city or get him admitted into a vocational school. Hanks has shown how the multi-local extended family has to a limited extent in recent years rejuvenated extended kinship ties by becoming the major institutional mechanism through which villagers leave Bang Chan to seek their fortunes elsewhere. (This last phrase is not merely a figure of speech; many young Bang Chan men have what could be called almost a Dick Whittington view about leaving Bang Chan for Bangkok.) A cousin who undertakes to serve as a villager's liaison to a city job or who offers him a place to stay usually does so willingly, for it creates obligations which may be called upon later if need be.

The above description of variations and extensions has been presented

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

As the reader might by now suspect, it is not easy to determine the basis of the unity of the family. However, of all the factors that keep people living together in amity and affection, two come to the fore: a sense of love, obligation, and respect that is derived from the simple fact of kinship, but which must be continuously confirmed by mutual benefits; and economic considerations.

The economic foundation of the family is significant not only because the family is in fact the sole economic and occupational unit in the community (with the exception of the monkhood and school) but because the villagers themselves think of the family in terms of its economic functions. People say that they marry for wealth or because of the productive capacities of their spouses;[13] spouses stay together because the economic costs of a split are too great; most important of all, people are keenly *aware* of their economic interdependence. Fathers say that they need children to work in the fields and care for the buffalos, that a family needs a mother so that its members will be fed, that siblings are useful because it is easy to borrow from them (although, as noted earlier, some are unhappy about the intrusion of the kinship tie into what they regard to be a commercial transaction). Many villagers extend this economic, transactional type of thinking to other aspects of the kinship relationship. Thus they say that "the purpose of marriage is to have a companion who will take care of you when you get sick," or very frequently that "my parents went to the trouble of bringing me up so they would have a person to make merit for them when they die." The emphasis here is on independent agents serving each other because it is mutually beneficial.

The love and affection that people feel for each other is of course grounded in the close associations that one finds in most nuclear families. However, the attitudes of respect that one sees are perhaps more distinctively Thai. Almost all the literature on Thailand refers, at one point or another, to the patterns of respect (*khwaamnabthyy*) existing between people, both within and without the family. These patterns are based, in the first instance, on the status inequalities that exist in almost all social

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[13] In responding to the unstructured Sentence Completion Test item, "*He (she) wants to get a wife (husband) who. . . ,*" for example, thirty-one of sixty informants indicated that they wanted a mate who "was a good worker," "earned a living," "was rich," or otherwise had high socio-economic status. Only two persons said that they wanted a spouse for reasons that could be reasonably defined as sentimental: one woman wanted a husband who "would be a good friend with whom she could discuss things," and a man said he wanted a wife whom "he loved." Other informants gave completions distributed among a variety of categories: "polite, well-mannered, handsome, kind, strong, and good" spouses; and six women wanted husbands who would be faithful.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

harvest time, serve to create a rite of intensification as family members decide together what work will be done by whom, arise early in the morning to work together happily in the fields—sometimes for as long as fourteen hours at a stretch—and actually see the fruits of their coöperative labor mount up on the threshing floors. The sense of familial solidarity and intradependence, and its associated feelings of love, is experienced by all.[10] Also, since harvesting more often than not involves working reciprocally with other families, the host of a reciprocal labor group giving a feast whenever possible at the end of the day, it serves, although to a lesser extent, to intensify feelings of membership in the larger community.

Summary

In my discussion of the "cultural background," I have dwelt primarily on kinship because the family is functionally the most significant social unit in the village and because it is within the context of kinship that personality is developed and, in Bang Chan, most frequently expressed. None of this is meant to imply a lack of importance for other social units—the monastery, the school, the state—or for the non-institutionalized relationships—friends, drinking partners, and business contacts. However, kinship does provide the basic psychological model for all human relationships in Bang Chan,

[10] Although the annual cycle of Thai peasants is described in detail in the available ethnographies on Thai rural life (deYoung 1955, Fraser 1960, Kaufman 1960, Kingshill 1960, Sharp *et al.* 1953) a few words should be added about the psychological dimensions of this cycle. Thus familial solidarity, intradependence, and love are not the only sentiments that are heightened during the harvest period. Perhaps the most striking quality of this season (December to January) is the increase in the optimism, joy, and general psychic well-being of the villagers: people laugh more loudly than usual; they relish telling about the things they are going to buy; parents take more kindly to the gallivanting of the children. These months contrast with transplanting time (late July to early August) and the period prior to harvest (October to November), when an overabundance of rain can destroy the villagers' rice seedlings or their entire crop. These latter periods are marked not so much by anxiety as by a sense of watchful waiting. All these contrast with the Dry season when things are especially quiet in Bang Chan and when villagers spend their time repairing farming equipment and houses, gossiping, or are working on jobs outside the community. Villagers say that of the three major seasons of the year (Dry, February to June; Rainy, June to January; Cold, January to February) they like the Rainy season best. The season coincides with the rice-growing cycle, is marked by Buddhist Lent and, excepting a final week of Monsoon downpour, is in fact the most comfortable period of the year.

These seasonal activities and attitudes also have direct implications for field work. Thus, while villagers gave freely of their time during the dry season and after the harvest, and during the latter were especially outgoing and benign, many simply would not see me during the weeks of planting and harvesting. The benign attitudes of villagers interviewed after the harvest were reflected directly in the data, as were the noncommittal responses of some villagers who were interviewed during transplanting time.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

various kinds of ants living in Thailand and the United States. (Such are the topics that interest villagers.) The villagers wanted to know the English names for small red ants, normal black ones, and the large, rusty colored variety that are indigenous to the tropics. I named the first two with no difficulty. For the third, I said simply, "a giant ant." The assistant, turning to one of the informants, first gave the literal Thai equivalent of "giant," and then, as if this were the funniest thing he had heard that week, began to repeat, "giant, gi-ant, gi-ant." In a few seconds, they were all bursting with laughter.

Different, yet part of the same psychological constellation, is the whole complex of behaviors associated with the term, *sanug*. *Sanug* is usually translated into English simply as "fun." However, this translation conveys little of the motivational significance of the term. Essentially, *sanug* is a quality inherent in all situations which are not only fun but also emotionally worthwhile. In fact, these two states are often thought of as reciprocals of one another. An activity that is novel, diverting, or that can be done comfortably, is *sanug dii* (good fun); one that is tedious, overdemanding, that lacks the opportunity for frivolity, is not *sanug* and should be avoided. Harvesting rice in coöperative work groups, attending a ceremonial, participating in an election (see Phillips 1958: 45–46), or even taking something as outlandish as a Sentence Completion Test are all *sanug*. (The unifying elements of these diverse activities are either their novelty or the fact that they involve the presence of relatively large numbers of people but require no genuine interchange with them.) On the other hand, going into the army or working for a demanding superior are not *sanug*.

The importance of *sanug* is that it provides the villagers with a standard of value, a measure of how much they wish to commit themselves to a particular activity. The role of this standard should not be underestimated. Villagers who have taken a job in the city, often involving a time-bound daily routine or continuous, sustained attention to a task (work in a small factory, for example) frequently return to the village explaining that they quit "because it wasn't *sanug*. How can you work on a job if there is never any time for fun?" Foreign employers, with their greater concern for the job than with the person who does it and with their annoying tendency to be *cuu cii* (compulsive, fussy, exacting) are a particular target for this indictment, although this is usually based on hearsay rather than personal experience. On the other hand, villagers will often take on free of charge a major job (for example, helping a neighbor build a house) precisely because it is *sanug*. Although there are other considerations operating here—creating or repaying a personal obligation, doing a *bunkhun* ("a goodness") for a neighbor—the "sanug-ful" aspects of the task are always

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

salient: the free food, drink, and chitchat at the end of a hard day's work; the fun of working together with several other individuals. Notice that in this kind of situation there is no overseer demanding the person's effort. His labor is freely given and may be freely withdrawn.

In describing *sanug* as a measure of how much villagers wish to commit themselves to a particular activity, I mean to communicate a point and not merely to turn a phrase. The word "commit," which appears often in this book, is used to convey the idea that coöperative, mutually expectable interaction as we know it in the West does not "simply take place" in Bang Chan. Rather, there is always the intervening factor of whether individuals want it to take place. Siamese are, first and foremost, free and independent souls. Much of the time they fulfill each other's expectations, but this is only because they want to, not because others expect it of them or because the situation demands it. It is the individual that is primary, not the social relationship. The strength of this principle is demonstrated by the fact that one is almost never surprised when one's expectations about another are not fulfilled. The assumption is: "If he did not do it, he must have had his own good reason."

The potentialities for interpersonal frustration that are inherent in such a system are minimized largely by the hesitation on the part of individuals to build up strong expectations about people or events. In general, the Thai are a people who do not live at, and rarely reach, a high emotional pitch. Witness, for example, the specifications of "sanug-ful activities," those which afford the greatest pleasure: they are novel, diverting, comfortable, and frivolous, but there is no Faustian intensity about these joys. They are all rather muted emotional experiences. The point here is simply that in this kind of psychological environment, people rarely permit themselves to become so committed to an activity or to another person that the frustration of that commitment will be overly disturbing to them. They proceed from a premise which says in effect: "Well, it is really not that important that he did not do what I expected of him. I will simply have to make do."

There are a few aspects of the villagers' concern with *sanug* that warrant underscoring. First, from an analytic point of view, *sanug* seems to reflect an attempt on the part of the villagers to lead a psychologically integrated life, wherein the time and energy one gives to an activity is rewarded immediately and directly with pleasure. This low-keyed pleasure should be an inextricable part of the total situation in which one finds oneself (or more accurately, into which one places oneself), not something to be deferred until a later, "more appropriate" time when it becomes an isolated segment of experience. Essentially, *sanug* should be—it not always is—a concurrent aspect of almost everything that one does. At the same time, however, these conditions are also the source of an inevitable paradox. Since "sanug-ful" activities are, by definition, novel and diverting, and

7/ Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

Age	Method	Kinds of Farm Work
13-14	Moderate pressure.	Hauling, weeding, buffalo tending, transplanting, chicken feeding, fishing, household work.
15-16	High pressure.	All kinds of farm work. Harrowing, harvesting, and uprooting (boys only) are started at this age.

By the time the young are 16 years old, they are already reliable farm hands, although they are still not considered competent enough to participate in the cooperative work to which only the best family workers are expected to be sent. By the time they reach 18 years of age, all males and females should be well trained in all kinds of farm work.

According to the Primary Education Law, parents are responsible for sending their children to school at the age of eight. These children are to remain in school until they are over fourteen years old, or until they have passed Pratom IV.[2] Since school hours start at nine and last until three in the afternoon, children of school age are still able to participate in the farm work before or after school hours. Moreover, most rural primary schools including the Bangchan Primary School have adjusted their vacation recesses to the periods when rice farm labor is needed most -- from August 16 to September 15 which coincides with transplanting period, and from December 16 to January 15 which coincides with harvesting period. It is during these vacations that the upperclass children are expected to contribute their

2. Primary education is divided into four academic years -- Pratom I, II, III, and IV.

243 binding the seedlings into bundles. Since only fresh bamboo binders could be used, the farmer had to make them himself from the locally grown bamboos. Our records show that this step started on July 17 (the day prior to the first cooperative uprooting conducted for the farm under study) and ended on August 27.

9. Uprooting. This is the heaviest step of all farm work. The seedlings must be pulled out as many as one could each time and are smashed to the puller's shank in order to rid them of mud which accompanied the roots. These seedlings were then made into standard sized bundles with the use of bamboo binders. Each variety of seedlings must be uprooted at about the same time, for they should be all transplanted not later than the following day. Uprooted seedlings were not carried to the homeyard, but left temporarily on the dikes of the seedbed.

243
476 Farmers in Bangchan organized themselves into cooperative work groups to mutually help one another in such kinds of field work as uprooting, transplanting, harvesting, and to a somewhat limited extent weeding. In case of the farm under study, more uprooting work was done through cooperative work groups than by family members working on family parcels. Our records show that uprooting by the family started on July 17 and ended on September 8, while the cooperative uprooting which the family participated started on July 15 and lasted until September 11.

243 would detach themselves from the ground and be seen afloat on the surface water. To remedy this, the farmer usually inspected his newly transplanted parcel and simply pressed the floating seedlings back into the ground. Sometimes, transplanting was poorly done or the seedlings were roughly handled during uprooting, resulting in "dead stands." These dead stands could not be distinguished from the live ones in the first few days after transplanting, for both would appear greenish yellow in color. In four days after transplanting, however, the root system of the live rice plant resumed its normal function and most stands assumed their true green color. The dead stands could then be easily detected for they remained greenish yellow. These dead stands were removed and new seedlings were transplanted in their places.

Weeding was another care given to the rice plants. Again, it was difficult to apportion the time spent on each of these separate activities -- pressing the floating seedlings back into their original position on the ground, replacement of the dead stand stands with the live seedlings, and weeding -- for at certain periods (within a few days after transplanting) they were all done in the same trip and almost concurrently.

[476] Weeding was also done cooperatively, although recently cooperative weeding has become less popular and involved only [592] few families. It may be said, therefore, that care of the [178] plants as of 1953-54 was largely a family undertaking. Our records show that care of the plants in our sense of the term [476] started on July 24 and ended on September 29. Of this, the [592]

*243 work done by the family members themselves lasted from July
• [476] 24 to September 28 and the work done through cooperative work
[592] group (weeding only) lasted from September 20 to September 29. It was observed that as from the end of September there was no need for weeding, for weeds could not keep up with the rising water level.

14. Preparation of threshing floor. When harvesting was approaching, the farmer would get busy preparing the threshing floor. He had to do this well ahead of time, that is, before harvesting actually started, or else there would be complications during that busy period. As a matter of fact, this was a rather short step of rice production. Although our records show that it lasted from November 29 to January 27, that seemingly long period was due to the fact that cracking appeared and repair of the threshing floor was necessary on the latter date. In fact, the whole work took only seven work days, involving only 13½ man-hours and 32 buffalo-hours. The method of preparing the threshing floor was simple. The ground space designated to be the floor was first soaked with water for the whole night. In the following morning, four buffaloes were led to tramp over and over this small earth floor for an hour and a half, in the meantime another worker levelled the floor with grub hoe. The process was repeated on each of the four following days until the floor became compact and level.
*243 Finally the surface was pasted with wet buffalo manure to mini-
476 mize surface cracking.

15. Harvesting. This was largely done through a

#241 cooperative work group, the proportion of the work done by the
• 476 family workers themselves and that done through cooperative harvesting being about one to five. Cooperative harvesting started on December 4 and ended on January 25, while family harvesting started on December 12 and ended on February 6.

#243 16. Threshing. This step can be further broken down into piling of harvested bundles of rice around the threshing floor, laying some of these on the threshing floor, actual threshing by having the buffaloes tramp over and over the rice stalks with rice seeds on them (by this time the stalks had already broken loose from the bundle), frequent turning of stalks that were in the lowest layer upward (with the use of pitchforks), separating the threshed paddy from the stalks (with the use of pitchforks and rakes), and finally piling of the threshed paddy. Threshing started on December 15 and ended on February 14. It was one of the few steps in rice production in which the work was often carried on into the night.

17. Winnowing. Started on December 25 and ended on February 14. The completion of winnowing marks the end of rice production as far as rice farmers are concerned.

18. Stacking of straw. After threshing, straw was piled up in stacks around poles in the homeyard or the edge of the field near the homeyard. This was done on December 29 and February 4. It was a simple step using only a total of 16 man-hours of labor.

231 19. Procuring grass for buffaloes. Care for buffaloes is a whole year job involving leisurely work, such as taking the buffaloes to graze on the fields which any child can do,

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

231 as well as painstaking work like ridding them of insects during a certain period of the year by smoking throughout the night. Besides, in some years when the water level is exceptionally high, for example in 1952, the buffaloes may have to be tended in other villages of higher elevation. Moreover, there always is need for constant guard against robbery of these precious draft animals. It is extremely difficult to keep a record of labor spent on these activities. The author is reluctant to attempt even at mere estimation.

In view of the difficulties mentioned above, only the procurement of grass for the buffaloes which could be measured was taken into consideration in the computation for labor requirements in rice production. This was done with the realization that there was more labor actually spent on the tending of buffaloes which could not be estimated and which should be considered as extra work over the calculated requirement. Our records show that cutting grass for buffaloes started on June 14 and ended on November 27 when the buffaloes began to feed on straw. (This straw was obtained from a neighbor's field at the mouth of Bangchan Canal which was planted to an early variety of rice; hence, even though harvesting had not yet begun on the farm under study, it was possible to feed the buffaloes with straw and save time that would have to be spent on procuring fresh grass for buffaloes during this busy period when all available labor should be spent on harvesting.)

243 476 20. Supervising the work done by cooperative workers. The amount of supervision varied with the kind of cooperative

*243 work. In cooperative uprooting, which usually started as
• 476 early as 5:30 a.m. and lasted until each guest worker finished his 100th bundle of uprooted seedlings, the host did not participate in the work but had to entertain his guest workers by talking with them while they worked and providing a meal after the work. He had to see to it that every worker had enough bamboo binders to bind each bundle of uprooted seedlings, and it was his own responsibility to check that each guest had actually uprooted his share of 100 bundles. Usually, cooperative work was done on the honor system -- the bundles were not counted. In one of the cooperative weedings for the farm under study, however, one guest who had been known to be a not very fast worker finished his share too soon to the surprise of his fellow workers. Perhaps partly with a sense of curiosity and partly with a sense of justice, these other guest workers stopped their work temporarily and helped the host counting the bundles uprooted by that man. To the embarassment of all concerned, it was found that the man had actually finished only 80 bundles. In cooperative transplanting, the host was not obliged to feed guest workers. In this case, each guest worker was to finish one-fourth of a transplanted rai. The host's duty was to assign each worker to his respective plot which had to be properly measured. Earlier in the day, the host and his family had to haul the uprooted seedlings to each of these plots. While cooperative transplanting was being done, the host usually walked from one plot to another to see to it that proper distance of planting was being observed by each worker

*243 • 476 as unscrupulous guest workers might tend to lengthen the distance in order that they might work less because the share of work was on an area basis. In cooperative harvesting, it was customary that the host provided a meal after the work was done. As with the case of cooperative transplanting, each guest worker was to harvest an area of one-fourth of a rai. No checking was necessary in this case. In the rather unsignificant cooperative weeding, the host worked side by side with guest workers in the same plot, and work was measured by the time spent on weeding -- in "day" or "half-day," one "day" being an equivalent of six-hours' work and correspondingly one "half-day" an equivalent of three-hours' work. Guest workers were induced to weed more intensively by an offer of prizes in the form of cigarettes for a certain number of bamboo binders they collected in the course of weeding (by pulling). The underlying idea was that since these bamboo binders which were left in the parcel during transplanting sank deep in the soil, thus the amount of bamboo binders collected by each guest worker more or less indicated his weeding effort.

Our records show that supervision of cooperative work started on July 22 and ended on January 24.

*243 476 461 21. Entertaining guest workers. It was already mentioned in the previous step that customarily the host provided food to guest workers in cooperative uprooting and cooperative harvesting. To feed some twenty to thirty people was quite a job, thus practically all family workers were occupied in food preparation and serving on these occasions. Our records show that entertaining guest workers started on July 22 and ended on January 24, and that while supervision of cooperative work

*243
• 476 utilized only 26 man-hours of labor, entertaining the same
461 groups involved as many as 158½ man-hours.

Labor Requirement in Rice Production

*243 During the 1953-54 rice year, an exploratory study of
461 labor requirement in rice production was conducted, using
*128 only one farm. This farm was operated by Headman Chom Srisuay of KY5. It was one among the 104 sample farms covered by the preliminary survey in 1948-49. The choice of this farm was made on the basis of the high degree of cooperation given us by Chom and all his family.

[594] During the period covered by this special study of labor requirement, Chom had a family of nine, consisting of Husband Chom (47), Wife Sai (44), three sons -- Phuan (19), Phan (16) and Phloen (8), and four daughters -- Phung (15), Phad (13), Bunmarg (7) and Mian (4).

In the year of the study of labor requirement, Chom operated a farm of 49 rai consisting of four parcels: Parcel A, 7 rai; Parcel B, 20 rai; Parcel C, 7 rai; Parcel D, 15 rai. The locations of these parcels are shown in the sketch map on page

Part of Parcel A was used at the beginning of the sea-
*243 son as seedbed. After the seedlings had been uprooted and
461 transplanted, this parcel was again plowed and harrowed and planted to three varieties of rice -- Mue Hag, Ched Ruang and Khao Sa-ing. Parcel B was also planted to three varieties -- Mue Hag, Ched Ruang and glutinous rice. Parcel C was planted to only one variety -- Mue Hag. Parcel D was planted to two

*243 594 461 [464] row man. He could not very well be substituted by his younger sister who was also needed to perform the housework. A worker was thus hired for the period of two months -- from the middle of June to the middle of August -- primarily to help in plowing. Phan also partially helped in plowing and harrowing in part of the morning session before he started his work for the Cornell team at nine o'clock.

• [476] During the cooperative work season, Chom represented the family in cooperative uprooting and cooperative harvesting, and Phuan in cooperative transplanting, weeding and harvesting. Phan also represented the family in cooperative work scheduled for Saturdays and Sundays when he was free from Cornell duty.

*243 461 *128 Work records of all workers of this farm were kept by the author throughout the work season from June 4, 1953 to February 14, 1954. At the beginning, the author stayed overnight with the family. Family workers were requested to give accounts of their activities of the day. To facilitate more accurate accounts regarding the time of the work, a clock was [115] given to the family. When family workers became acquainted with the type of information that was needed, Phan, our row man, was assigned to make a daily report on the kinds and time of work done by each worker. Phan's daily report was taken down by the author in the labor schedule specially prepared for the purpose.[3] Later, when Phan's reporting skill was well developed, he was asked to report on the daily labor records only four times a week, usually Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday.

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3. See Appendix B.

*243 Since the farm work usually followed the same pattern for a
461 certain period, it was observed that Phan remembered quite well
+128 the time and the kind of work done by each family worker during
the past two or even three days. The time of work was recorded
[231] to the hearest half-hour. In Tables 35 and 35, labor spent by
[464] family workers, piece-workers hired by the family, and buf-
[592] faloes, on different steps in rice production was given in
man-hours and buffalo-hours. The dates when these various
• [476] jobs started and ended were also given. It should be noted,
however, that labor recorded as spent on cooperative work was
actually not spent on the family farm but rather on farms of
other cooperative members. This was nevertheless exactly com-
pensated by cooperative work on this farm on several occasions
which were not entered in the calculation to avoid error
because of duplication.

*243 The data from Tables 35 and 36 may be summarized as
461 follow:

221 1. Man labor provided by farm staff.

[592] Work started June 4, ended February 14, a total of 248
[464] work days.
[231] Total man-hours spent by farm staff -- 5,478½.

2. Man labor provided by piece-workers.

Work started July 19, ended August 30, a total of 10
work days.
Total man-hours spent by piece-workers -- 229.

3. Animal labor provided by buffaloes.

Work started June 4, ended February 13, a total of 112
work days.
Total buffalo-hours -- 2,119.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

243 times. Using too many varieties of rice on a farm, however,
221 will complicate the working schedule; and sowing times of these
461 varieties cannot also be spread out too far apart because seedlings should all grow up to the size appropriate for transplanting some time before the deadline set by the water level. It has been observed that most farmers grow from three to six varieties on their farms.

243 Another efficient device for spreading out labor is
221 that of farmers in a locality organizing themselves into
461 informal cooperative work groups to perform on a mutual help
467 basis such field work which can be best cooperatively done, such as uprooting, transplanting and harvesting. There were three cooperative work groups in Bangchan: (1) Mu Sapan Yao, or the Bridge Group, consisting of farm operating families living in the vicinity of the bridge across Bangchan Canal; (2) Mu Ba Wat, or the Near Wat Group, consisting of families living around Wat Bangchan; and (3) Mu Bon, or the North Group, consisting of families living in Upcanal Bangchan. The organization and the system for labor compensation of these various informal work cooperatives will be discussed in the next section.

Cooperative Work

243 There were five kinds of cooperative work in Bangchan --
476 cooperative uprooting, cooperative transplanting, cooperative harvesting, cooperative weeding, and cooperative pounding of cargo rice. While the first three kinds were important undertakings through which a major part of those rice production

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 steps were carried on, the last two were relatively insignif-
• 476 icant and were participated in by few families. All of these five kinds of cooperative work, except cooperative pounding of cargo rice, have been mentioned in the earlier sections of this chapter.

We did not include pounding of cargo rice as a step in rice production, although it was closely related to it. Before or at the beginning of the farm year, when the pressure of the field work was not yet strong, farmers would pound their home-milled rice which was to be consumed during the entire work season. The recent trend has been for farmers to take their paddy to the rice miller who retained a portion of the milled rice and bran as his fee. Nevertheless, there were still some farm families who milled rice needed for their own consumption, contending that it was more economical and that in so doing they could save the much needed bran for their livestock. Home-milled rice, which appears in the form of cargo rice, must be pounded in order that its outer coat may be removed. Farmers found that it was less tedious, and perhaps it was even fun, to do pounding as a group work rather than as a laborious task for an individual family; so they formed a group of say ten families, each sending a representative to participate in group pounding at each member family's home in rotation. Cooperative pounding was more often carried on in the evening. When the work was finished, refreshment was served by the host.

In this section we shall concentrate on the three

*243 major cooperative work -- cooperative uprooting, cooperative
• 476 transplanting, and cooperative harvesting.

At the outset, it should be understood that cooperative work groups were very informally organized. Although the idea was to mobilize labor to work on each member's farm in rotation, the work obligation was not collective but was purely bilateral -- each farmer receiving help was bound to return the same amount of work to each guest worker individually. There was no such thing as group responsibility.

Supposing Chom wanted help in the uprooting of his early variety, after figuring out how many guest workers he needed for the occasion, he would send word to the group that he wanted, say fifteen workers, on the specified date. Each member approached had to make it known to Chom that he could or could not participate in that cooperative work for Chom. Technically, members were approached individually. There should not be any difficulty, therefore, in limiting guest workers to the required number. Since immediate reply was an ettiquette that was strictly observed, Chom would know not only the number of guest workers but also who would come on the specified date. Another strictly observed rule was that one should participate in a cooperative work only when he was asked to do so. This latter was necessary because there might otherwise be too many guest workers, which meant more future reciprocal work on the part of the host.

Since a farmer grew several varieites of rice, he usually needs help several times in each of the uprooting, transplanting, and harvesting processes. A help unit is called

*243 • 476 a "ngarn" (lit., work), which is one hundred bundles of seedlings uprooted in case of uprooting, one-fourth of a rai transplanted in case of transplanting, and also one-fourth of a rai harvested in case of harvesting.

The author followed closely every cooperative uprooting which Chom participated. It was found that this operator had bilateral obligations with 20 other members who during the 1953 season had uprooted for him a total of 41 units or 4,100 bundles of seedlings -- 1,400 bundles on July 22, 1,100 bundles on August 3, and 1,600 bundles on August 15. Chom [illegible]d to make good the reciprocal work of this same amount for all his guest workers according to their individual shares of contribution to him. At the end the records show, however, that Chom himself had contributed only 28 units or had uprooted only 2,800 bundles for fellow members. Although his son Phuan had contributed six more units, the family was still short of seven units. As it actually happened, Chom was away from the village on a house building work in Dhonburi from August 18 to 25. During this period of eight days he was supposed to participate in seven cooperative uprootings. His only substitute, Phuan, could not do the work for him for Phuan was also tied up in cooperative transplanting. Chom therefore arranged for [464] [465] a professional piece-worker to do the seven cooperative uprootings he was committed to at the going rate of 13 baht per 100 bundles uprooted.

Records show that at the end Chom's contribution to each of his twenty fellow members was individually equal to the

help he received from each of them (the work by Phuan and the piece-worker was considered as Chom's contribution), the exception being the cases with A and B. Chom had contributed three units to A, receiving only two units from the man; but he had received four units from B, giving him only three units of work. This was settled by transferring Chom's credit with A to B which is the general practice.

There were two professional piece-workers among Chom's twenty fellow members. In fact, there were four such piece-workers in our records of this group of cooperative uprooting, but Chom was bilaterally obligated to only two of them. Perhaps it is necessary to mention at this juncture that each member of a cooperative group had within that group their own circle of members among whom he had bilateral obligatory work. Chom, for example, had a circle of twenty-one within that group of twenty-four. We got this number of twenty-four by listing all the names of the persons (representing families) to whom each of the twenty-one members of Chom's circle had bilateral obligatory work. Most of these names overlapped, and the composite number was found to be twenty-four. It is seen then that the number of members of both a circle and a group depended entirely on which member was used as the basis. It would be misleading, therefore, to state the Mu Sapan Yao Cooperative Uprooting had twenty-four members, for no real size of a cooperative work group exists because of the overlapping nature of various circles within it.

All the four professional piece-workers in this

#243 • 476 464 cooperative uprooting were exceptionally good workers, and this was the reason why they were approached when help was needed. These men accumulated work credits and utilized them when they were contracted by operators who had not enough family labor to uproot their seedlings. Chom, for example, after utilizing his own family labor as well as all the work credits he earned in cooperative uprooting, still was in short of labor to uproot his latest varieites on August 22 in which ten units of work were needed for the estimated 1,000 bundles [465] to be uprooted. He, therefore, contracted Sa, a fellow member, to do the job for 130 baht. On that date, Sa called upon ten members including himself to uproot Chom's seedlings in his name. So the same old faces appeared on Chom's farm. Outwardly, this looked like an ordinary cooperative uprooting on the mutual help basis. In reality, however, it was a business deal out of which Sa received cash payment from Chom who in turn received labor. Our records show that Sa had another earlier contract to uproot 1,700 bundles for another operator, and the same method of recruiting labor among fellow cooperative members was used. Since our records show only cooperative uprootings conducted among this group of twenty-four members, it was possible that Sa might have a few more contracts which did not appear in the records.

Ordinarily, farmers do not like to be obligated to professional piece-workers, for they might later be asked to work in return for somebody they do not like. In fact, there was some talk in 1953 among farm operating members on the

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*243 possible ways to eliminate the participation of professional
• 476 piece-workers. From the standpoint of professional piece-
464 workers, however, to get oneself admitted into a cooperative
group is a boon to their respective families for job opportun-
[465] ity would be assured to them. This is the reason why Sa was
able to earn 2,000 baht in 1953 while most of his fellow piece-
workers' earnings were as low as 300 or 600 baht.

*243 The same principle of labor reciprocity held in the
476 other kinds of cooperative work, which also involved cash pay-
ment in the end to professional piece-workers who served as
clearing agents to settle the balances of work credits. Gen-
erally speaking, such balances were more in case of cooperative
transplanting than cooperative uprooting, and the same were
even higher in the case of cooperative harvesting. This was
to be expected because transplanting involved about double the
amount of labor spent on uprooting, and harvesting alone
required about a tenth more than the combined labor require-
ment of these two operations.

*243 Chart 1 shows both man-labor spent by Chom farm staffs
461 and man-labor spent on Chom Farm, the former being represented
476 by the solid line and the latter by the dotted line. On the
basis of equal reciprocity of labor, these two should be tech-
nically equal in total magnitude. They differed, however, in
their daily distribution. It is seen that the two lines coin-
cide during the periods from June 4 to July 14, from September
30 to December 3, and from January 26 to February 4, when there
was no cooperative activity. During the periods from July 15

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 to September 29 and from December 4 to January 25, these two
461 lines diverge from each other. Although both fluctuate greatly,
476 it is readily seen that fluctuation of the dotted line representing labor spent on Chom's Farm is much more than that of the solid line representing labor spent by Chom farm staffs. This shows that by adopting cooperative work device Chom was able to spread out the work of his farm staffs although the daily labor requirement on his farm still remained highly fluctuating.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 37

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Date	Animal labor	Human labor		
		On farm	On coop. work	Total
	buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Jun 4	8	24	--	24
5	16	28	--	28
6	16	28	--	28
7	16	28	--	28
8	16	28	--	28
9	16	28	--	28
10	8	12	--	12
11	--	16	--	16
12	16	18	--	18
13	16	15½	--	15½
14	16	27½	--	27½
15	13½	29	--	29
16	22	19½	--	19½
17	22	16½	--	16½
18	20	26½	--	26½
19	--	14½	--	14½
20	24	25	--	25
21	24	24	--	24
22	23	33	--	33
23	24	24	--	24
24	21½	25½	--	25½
25	18	14	--	14
26	--	18½	--	18½
27	25	25	--	25
28	24	25	--	25
29	22	34½	--	34½
30	28	32	--	32
July 1	22	43	--	43
2	30	38	--	38
3	27½	30	--	30
4	--	23	--	23
5	28	38	--	38
6	30½	32½	--	32½
7	18	21	--	21
8	32	35	--	35
9	28	28	--	28
10	28	3-½	--	30½

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

243
221
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461
476
592

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
July	11	--	23½	--	23½
	12	24	20	--	20
	13	24	26½	--	26½
	14	28	31	--	31
	15	24	38	5½	43½
	16	28	27½	--	27½
	17	28	36	--	36
	18	22	30	5	35
	19	--	36	--	36
	20	30	37½	--	37½
	21	28	37	4½	41½
	22	19	46½	5	51½
	23	8	20½	4½	25
	24	9	31	--	31
	25	10	16	--	16
	26	--	4	4	8
	27	--	17	4½	21½
	28	23½	27½	12	39½
	29	26	29½	9½	38
	30	28	21	13½	34½
	31	30	35	--	35
Aug	1	16	18	6	24
	2	20	21½	7	28½
	3	--	7½	8½	16
	4	5	17	9½	26½
	5	22½	24½	16	40½
	6	29½	29½	10½	40
	7	24	30½	6½	37
	8	25½	25½	7½	33
	9	38	26	10½	36½
	10	--	8	19½	27½
	11	28	16	13	29
	12	34	19	16½	35½
	13	34	25½	12	37½
	14	29	19	7½	26½
	15	32	81½	4	85½
	16	11	67½	4	71½
	17	12½	35	5½	39½
	18	--	4½	8	12½
	19	36	38	--	38
	20	29	17½	8½	26

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Aug	21	32	18	6½	24½
	22	19	28	7	35
	23	17	41½	--	41½
	24	8	16	4½	20½
	25	--	19	7	26
	26	--	14½	3½	18
	27	--	21	15	36
	28	--	4	16	30
	29	--	2	22½	24½
	30	--	14	14	28
	31	--	8	4	12
Sept	1	--	8	9	17
	2	--	27½	10	37½
	3	--	12½	11½	24
	4	--	19	7	26
	5	--	21½	3½	25
	6	--	19	--	19
	7	--	17	--	17
	8	--	12	--	12
	9	--	24	--	24
	10	--	6	--	6
	11	--	11	3	14
	12	--	9	--	9
	13	--	6	--	6
	14	--	2	--	2
	15	--	8	--	8
	16	--	3½	--	3½
	17	--	4½	--	4½
	18	--	2	--	2
	19	--	2	3½	5½
	20	--	2	12	14
	21	--	2	7	9
	22	--	2	11	13
	23	--	2	7	9
	24	--	2	--	2
	25	--	2	14	16
	26	--	2	14	16
	27	--	2	14	16
	28	--	16	--	16
	29	--	2	7	9
	30	--	2	--	2

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		Total
			On farm	On coop. work	
		buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Oct	1	--	2	--	2
	2	--	2	--	2
	3	--	2	--	2
	4	--	2	--	2
	5	--	2	--	2
	6	--	2	--	2
	7	--	2	--	2
	8	--	2	--	2
	9	--	2	--	2
	10	--	2	--	2
	11	--	2	--	2
	12	--	2	--	2
	13	--	2	--	2
	14	--	2	--	2
	15	--	2	--	2
	16	--	2	--	2
	17	--	2	--	2
	18	--	2	--	2
	19	--	2	--	2
	20	--	2	--	2
	21	--	2	--	2
	22	--	2	--	2
	23	--	2	--	2
	24	--	2	--	2
	25	--	2	--	2
	26	--	2	--	2
	27	--	2	--	2
	28	--	2	--	2
	29	--	2	--	2
	30	--	2	--	2
	31	--	2	--	2
Nov	1	--	2	--	2
	2	--	2	--	2
	3	--	2	--	2
	4	--	2	--	2
	5	--	2	--	2
	6	--	2	--	2
	7	--	5	--	5
	8	--	2	--	2
	9	--	2	--	2
	10	--	2	--	2

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		buf-hr	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Nov	11	--	2	--	2
	12	--	2	--	2
	13	--	2	--	2
	14	--	2	--	2
	15	--	2	--	2
	16	--	2	--	2
	17	--	2	--	2
	18	--	2	--	2
	19	--	2	--	2
	20	--	2	--	2
	21	--	2	--	2
	22	--	2	--	2
	23	--	2	--	2
	24	--	2	--	2
	25	--	2	--	2
	26	--	2	--	2
	27	--	2	--	2
	28	--	2	--	2
	29	--	2	--	2
	30	6	5	--	5
Dec	1	6	2½	--	2½
	2	6	1½	--	1½
	3	6	1½	--	1½
	4	8	2	7	9
	5	--	--	--	--
	6	--	--	--	--
	7	--	--	--	--
	8	--	25½	--	25½
	9	--	33	--	33
	10	--	--	--	--
	11	--	12½	4½	17
	12	--	8	5	13
	13	--	16	22	38
	14	--	--	15	15
	15	10	17	16	33
	16	10	30	19	49
	17	20	33	10	43
	18	22	34	15	49
	19	28	24½	21	45½
	20	28	19½	24	43½

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 37 (Cont.)

DAILY LABOR SPENT BY CHOM FARM STAFFS

Date		Animal labor	Human labor		
			On farm	On coop. work	Total
		buf-hrs	man-hr	man-hr	man-hr
Dec	21	--	4½	18	22½
	22	28	30½	21	51½
	23	28	43½	27½	71
	24	6	40	8	48
	25	6	21	18½	39½
	26	8	34½	--	34½
	27	8	24	18	42
	28	12	17½	24	41½
	29	--	14½	24	38½
	30	--	47	--	47
	31	--	14½	16	30½
Jan	1	6	23	24½	47½
	2	4	17	24	41
	3	6	26½	24	50½
	4	--	27½	32	59½
	5	12	25½	32	57½
	6	4	20	36	56
	7	12	25½	32	57½
	8	12	26½	32	58½
	9	--	34	15	49
	10	--	19½	16	35½
	11	--	25	9	34
	12	--	23½	18	41½
	13	--	23½	10	33½
	14	4½	32	11	43
	15	--	26	16	42
	16	--	10	9	19
	17	--	16½	15	31½
	18	6	21	9½	30½
	19	--	33	10	43
	20	14	25½	16	41½
	21	14	17½	10	27½
	22	--	32½	5	37½
	23	6	5½	9½	15
	24	--	74½	--	74½
	25	--	2½	8½	11
	26	--	22	--	22
	27	--	29½	--	29½
	28	20	47½	--	47½
	29	14	31	--	31
	30	20	24	--	24
	31	24	29	--	29

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291
511 needs at least two work suits in each rice season, one during the field preparation and another during the harvesting season.

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226
511 Kerosine is used every day for lighting purposes. We do not include in this category kerosine which is used in the farm work; but that used with the pressure lamp in fishing by spearing during the night is included in the ordinary household expenses, for we do not consider fishing as a farm enterprise but as a routine activity participated in by all Bangchan residents, farmers and non-farmers alike.

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[792]
[764]
[585] Contributions to neighbors is a necessary item of expense in the village. These are cash gifts made by invited guests to the sponsor of such rituals as ordination, cremation, marriage, topnotch-cutting, and teacher worship. These rituals usually take place during the dry season following harvesting when cash is abundant in the village and are always followed by feasts, not uncommonly in a series of two or three days. Since all these rituals necessitate the participation of the priests, they have to be arranged in consultation with the temple to avoid conflicting schedules. Although few rituals have been noted to be in conflict with one another, usually they are spread throughout the dry season and m ost people are able to attend rituals to which they are invited. In cases where they cannot attend in person, they are obliged by conventional requirement to send in their cash contributions. The standard cash contribution is 5 - 10 baht. Usually, a

431 guest contributes exactly the same amount that was given
496 him by the man when he last attended his party. Written
796 account is always kept by the host specifying contributors
511 and respective amounts given. When invited to a ritual, the guest consults his book and takes along an appropriate amount of cash. It is on this basis of reciprocal help that a prospective sponsor of a ritual has been able to determine the size of cash contribution he would receive from neighbors. Since a guest normally contributes no more than ten baht and no less than five baht, his annual expense on this item depends largely on the number of parties he attends each year. Our records for 1952 show that this ranges from 30 to 1,000 baht, averaging 343 baht.

27
511 We include in the personal item of expenses the amounts spent on traveling, entertainment, coffee, liquor, etc. To be sure, some of these should be grouped under the stimulant item. We, however, intentionally put coffee and liquor here because the sequence seems to better fit the requirements of the persons responding to questions so that better answers might be obtained. Tobacco, betel, and areca, for example, appear to have somewhat constant rates of consumption. They are usually bought in large quantities which will last for a considerable length of time. As a result, informants are in a position to give more accurate rates of consumption of these items than those of liquor and coffee of which consumption is somewhat irregular and is difficult to estimate.

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184
511 c. The family's purchasing power. Certain goods considered as luxuries -- medicine, eggs, pork and beef, and white sugar -- were not consumed by poor families.

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182
511 d. Individual taste and preference. The Moslems would not consume any pork although they had enough money to buy it. Some poor farmers spent more money on curry essence than their more affluent neighbors because they preferred highly flavored dishes, and some tobacco smokers did not spend a cent on tobacco binder because they preferred the home-grown banana leaf binder to the thatch leaf binder which had to be purchased.

182
511
[184] e. Producing ability of the family. It was observed that those who caught more fish tended to consume more fish regardless of their financial conditions.

f. Health affected the consumption of medicine.

[431]
[476]
[554] g. Prestige affected the amount of cash contributions to neighbors.

h. Personal habits -- thrift, fun loving, indulgence, like or dislike of liquor -- affected the amount of personal expense.

i. Presence or absence of children of school age in the family affected the consumption of cookies.

Special Expenses

511 By special expenses we mean major items of expenses which do not occur regularly but which may arise in one time or another. Examples: purchases of land, gold and